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No. 30

[William Douglass]

Inoculation of the Small Pox  
as practised in Boston,  
consider'd in a Letter to

A[lexander] S[tewart] M.D. & F.R.S.  
in London.

Boston, 1722

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INOCULATION  
OF THE  
**Small POX**

As practised in *Boston*,

Consider'd in a Letter to

**A—S—M.D. & F.R.S.**

**In L O N D O N.**

---

*So learned Taliacotius from  
The brawny Part of Porters Bus,  
Cut supplemental Noses—*

**Hudibras**

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**B O S T O N,**

Printed and sold by *J. Franklin*, at his Print-  
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Med 1857.22.4.2

INOCULATION

OF THE

Small POX

As prepared by

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N-2-M.D.3.F.R.S.

IN LONDON

Printed by the University Press, Cambridge

# INTRODUCTION

A Copy of the following Letter casually coming to hand, I could not forbear publishing it at this juncture, when Six Men (commonly call'd the Six **INOCULATION MINISTERS**) without any weight of Argument, by meer importunity, and reiterated Praying, Preaching, and Scribbling (*perpetua ravis rapidum non vi sed sapientia*) do endeavour that the infatuation of *Self-procuring the Small Pox*, may become universal.

The Epistolary Manner, may excuse it, not being nicely correct and well digested, the freedom used in canvassing the matter, and the warmth with which the Author in several incidents expresseth himself; which perhaps the rigour of a formal Discourse &c. would not allow.

The Country and Ministry are not reflected on, but rather *undereated*, by laying the reproach on the particular Persons who alone have rendered themselves obnoxious. It is every Good Man's principle and interest to wish well and do well for the Country he lives in; and as a Christian to respect the Good and Pious Ministers of JESUS CHRIST, who as Husbands of one Wife *abstraining themselves from all worldly Contentions*, are devoted solely to the Service of GOD.

*Our Country; or Body Politick; (our own Mother Country not excepted) have been subject to Infatuations: These in this Country seem always to have proceeded from some of those who call themselves Sons of Levi. The Persecution of the Quakers about the Year 1658, the hanging of those suspected of Witchcraft, about the Year 1691, &c. and Inoculation, or Self-procuring the Small Pox, in the Year 1721; and to speak like an Astroo-*

## The Introduction.

mor, or rather in the manner of Dr. C. M. Infatuation seems to return to us after a Period of about Thirty Years, viz. from the *Massachusetts-Bay* being colonized Anno 1628, to the Persecution of the Quakers, Thirty Years; and so from Infatuation to Infatuation.

By the Indulgence of our Charter, the Ministers of all sorts are left *surjuris*, which may be the natural Cause why some of them, abusing this Privilege, do meddle in Matters not in the least appertaining to them. Tho' they are not under such a wholesome Discipline as is that of the Church of *Holland*, there is one good Expedient left to keep them within the Sphere of their own proper Business, viz. *Only one Inoculation Minister to a Congregation*. Thus the Congregation will be capable of settling on him a better Maintenance, the overplus Church Stock may be a fund for charitably relieving their Poor, and the Minister, instead of scribbling some little Piece of Contention once a Week, must more profitably employ that spare time in composing a second Sermon for the Edification of his Hearers. I hope (to use their own Words) I am not out of my Line, even tho' I should further give them this natural Advice to change Tasks, let the older Man puzzle himself in solving Cases of Conscience, and the young Man write some Observations or a *Physicist's Account of a Phantom* he does not comprehend.

This Letter, 1<sup>st</sup>, gives some *historical Account* of the matter, as transacted amongst our selves. 2<sup>dly</sup>, The Arguments (if they may be so call'd) used by the Inoculators, to persuade the People to give headlong into this novel Practice. 3<sup>dly</sup>, The Reasons against the use of it at this Time, and till further Light. And lastly, Some Remarks on this Practice, and the manner of promoting it.

# Letter, &c.

SIR,

SOME time ago, I promis'd to send you some *new Observations* I have lately made in some extraordinary Cases of the Small Pox, and its incident Symptoms. At this time I entertain you with our most extraordinary Occurrence relating to that Distemper, viz. The Complication commonly call'd, *Inoculation of the Small Pox*, by applying some laudable variolous Pus, to a fresh cutaneous Incision in a Person who never had the Small Pox; seven or eight Days, sooner or later after this Application, arises a Fever, whose Crisis is a cutaneous Eruption, something analogous to the Small Pox Pusules, and sometimes a true genuine Small Pox; but with an uncertain Period of Eruption, Maturation and Desquamation.

I. The Rise, Progress and Success of this novel Practice, or artificial Small Pox, in Boston.

A Physician of this Place, lent to a certain Reverend Gentleman of the Town the *Philosophical Transactions*, wherein he found the Letters of *Timonius* and *Pylarimus*, from the *Levant* to the *Royal Society* in *London*, giving some Account of the Method and Success of this Practice in those Countries; being a Man of *Whim* and *Credulity*, thinks this Juncture a fit Opportunity to  
make

make Experiments on his Neighbours, ( which in Vanity he might judge acceptable to the Royal Society, ) takes the Hint, sends circular Letters to all the Practitioners of the Place, ( the owner of the Transactions excepted, ) inviting them to come into it. At first they all declined so rash and ill vouch'd a Practice: At length one of them ( more bold than wise or knowing in his Business ) finding by his *bad Success* in the cure of his first *natural Small Pox* Patients, that he should make but a poor hand of it, embraces the Practice, but being rash and unlucky in his first Experiments, he was *publicly expos'd*: Then he applies to the two Ministers of the Congregation to which he belongs ( being himself *illiterate* ) to vindicate his Character as an able Practitioner: They as his good and careful *Pastors*, with three or four more Parsons whose Assistance were desired, take upon them their Protection, and in Print bestow on him a *Character* high enough to make the most celebrated Physician in *England* blush: Thus these *Men of the Clergy* were drawn in to support the *inoculation*; and consequently *Inoculation* it self; and you now, *Many Clergymen* think they give up their Character of *U. of O.* if they should *retract* tho' in matters the most absurd: Several things were publish'd in the Weekly News Papers by the Practitioners ( as in Duty bound ) to put a stop to this rash and dubious Practice; ( *N. B.* at this time those Ministers contrived to shut the Press against them ) and much has been said that wrote on the other side by the *Inoculating Parsons*, full of *Contradiction* and *Impropriety*. The *Small Pox* being so universal for some time past, the Practitioners could not find Time to peruse their Sermons and give them suitable Answers; upon this the Parsons became uppish, thinking they had gain'd the Field of Battle; but now, GOD be thank'd, the *Small Pox* is over, and the Practitioners are like to find leisure Time to answer the Pious and themselves in driving them home with their own Lines.

In the first Tryal, the *Exception* *Prætor* of *Human*'s Son and old Mr. *W. B.* harried the Inoculators; but as

Persons

Persons coming to give out, and in Contempt of the Guardians or *Sales-Men* of the Town who forbid the Practice, as also contrary to the declared Opinion of the Practitioners in Physick, they make a second Attempt on a few with indifferent good Success: At length many inoculated *justly* *well*; Mrs. D—— (and others whom Time may bring to light) *dyes* of it: Then they gave out, that the Infection was so universal, that it was likely all the Inoculated had received the Infection in the common Way, and the difference of Climate from that in the Levant was the reason of the Eruptions being more. They seem to intermit the Practice for some time; but lest it should be taken for recanting, they fall once more, and with Precaution inoculate those who could not be suspected of having received the Infection in the natural Way, for some Days pretty lucky; but soon after several of the Inoculated *dye*, and many suffer much. Now they say the Winter Season will not do, *the* *only* *Season* recommended by their *author*. *On* *this* *last* *various* *Success* it has been practised since the middle of *June* to this Time on about Two Hundred Subjects. When the Confusion is over, I shall be able to learn some Remarkables in their Cases, and communicate them to you.

#### III. The Motives and Methods used to induce People to the Practice.

*First*, *Protrudius* and *Pylerings* Communications to the Royal Society, (falsely said in a late Paper to be approved of by them.) If all that is published in the Philosophical Transactions, viz. Amusements, Projects, credulous Relations, &c. ought to be put in Practice, the World would be soon turned upside down. How silly would it then be to find fault with the owner of the *Lyons* *adventure*, because he does not comply with their *WICKED* *DESIRE* to reprint here those Accounts of the Levant Gentlemen? He has more regard to the Lives and Health of his Neighbour, than thus to bring them in to a *Snare*. If his Conscience could give way to such Things,

Things, he might transcribe and publish from the *Philosophical Transactions* and other Authors, many Projects and Amusements, no less seizable than this, but which might prove dangerous Edge-Tools in the Hands of Fools. I shall instance but one, which if it were not for its bad Consequences, might be of vastly more universal Benefit to Mankind.

The *Transfusion of the Blood* of a sound Person into the body of a Morbid Subject, first projected and practised by a very eminent Physician Dr. Richard Lower: It is to be found in *Phil. Transact.* for Dec. 1666, being a Letter to the Hon. Mr. Boyle, dated Oxford 6th July, 1666, where he describes the whole process of the Operation: It was afterwards put in Practice in France, and published there March 1667; and in Dr. Lower's Works since published, it is farther recommended, saying, that tho' it is the disposition of some Men not to be pleased, and not to allow of any new thing but what proceeds from themselves, he doubts not but this *Invention* may be much for the benefit of Mankind, if practised by a well advised and discreet Person; then gives instances of some on whom this had been practised; afterwards tells what Subjects may allow of this Practice, and recommends it in the *Gout* and many other *chronical Ails*; and desires the *Physicians* all the World over to put it in Practice, that by use and custom the Practice of it may become universal; concludes, that as *Harvey* discovered the benefit of *Circulation* within the proper vessels of an individual, he had found the way of *transferring Circulation* without the Sphere of the Individual, for the benefit of a second Person.

All our *Inoculators* ( Dr. C. M. excepted ) have these *Levant* or far fetch'd Accounts only at third Hand ( so strong is their faith ) viz. from the partial abstract of C. M. of the abstract of Dr. Woodward, from *Timonius* Original Letter which is not published in the *Transactions*.

*Timonius* and *Pylarinus* in some things clash; the first says it came from *Asia*, the other from *Greece*. *Timonius*

says it had been practised for above the Space of Forty Years among the *Turks* and others at *Constantinople*. *Pylarinus* (the latest Author) says, That the *Turks* only would not come into it, because repugnant to their doctrine of *Predestination*. Thus one would think they were writing concerning a thing they had rather heard than seen much of, especially if we take *Pylarinus*'s own words, *Quamvis de omnibus, ut ingenui fatentur oculatis esset esse non possum*, meaning all the circumstances of this Operation or Practice: and take their whole accounts, *Phil. Transact.* No. 339. 347. you will find they did not know half so much as we do at present in our short *Inoculation* Practice, e.g. The *Operatrix* says, *The Pus of the Venereal Small Pox is ineffectual for further transplan- tation*; *Pylarinus*, its true, conjectures (not having any'd &c) that it may be more benign and more effectual; but we have put it in practice and suffered thereby. *Pylari- nus* forbids *Flesh and Wine* for forty days, because *some* who have erred in that point have run great hazards by fresh eruptions; we confine them to no *Regimen* only for a few Days about the eruption. *Timonius* says, *None that ever used it, dyed of the Small Pox*; and in another place mentions two inoculated Children who dyed, but says he it was of *Cacosbony*; we to our sad experience know, that several have dyed. He says without reserve, They who have this *Inoculation* practised upon them are sub- ject to very slight Symptoms, and in another place of 50 who were inoculated about the same time, four had the Symptoms worse, and came near the *confluent* kind, as we have also learn'd in our experience; several of the Inoculated in *Boston*, when I insinuated to them the danger of having, after some time, the *Small Pox* in the common way, told me, it could not possibly happen, because their eruption *Fever* was more violent than gene- rally in the common way.

As to the faithfulness of *Dr. C. M.*'s abstract, on which foundation all did at first depend, take these few instan- ces. *Timonius* says, at first the more prudent were cau- tious. *C. M.* turns it, At first the People more cautious, be-  
B
ing



thing unwilling to say it was *prudens* or *beneficial*.  
*Pylarinus* says, *Turci bene negligunt hac usq;* Our  
*fidus interpres* renders it, *The Turks do not yet much come*  
*into it*; *Pylarinus* in English is, *the Turks had not as yet*  
*then come into it*. *Pylarinus* says, *Nunquam fore in trans-*  
*plantatione hac fuisse* (mortal) *quid accidisse observ-*  
*atum fuit* *hactenus*; our straining, interpretor renders it,  
*that it was hardly ever known that there was any ill con-*  
*sequences of this Transplantation*; which is a very unfair  
 and fatal Translation, designing that his Readers should  
 not think that *Death* or *Fatality* sometimes follow it,  
 tho' other *bad consequences* may. He partially omits  
 every thing that seems not to favour the Project; he  
 does not tell us that *Pylarinus* advises it (*immensus*  
*graffans Variolarum Epidemia*) when the Small Pox was  
 very malignant, and *Timonius* in the time when it was  
 so mortal that half the infected dyed; then indeed (if  
 the Law allow) an *Ancipis Remedium* may be embraced,  
 but not when it is so favourable that not above one in 10  
 dye of it: He with no good design omits that passage  
 in *Timonius*, that of 50 who had this *Inoculation* practi-  
 sed upon them almost the same day, four had the eru-  
 ptions too sudden, Tubercles more, and Symptoms worse,  
 and came near the confluent kind; and a little farther a  
 Boy 3 *at.* of a bad habit of Body who was Inoculated,  
 had the Small Pox as is usual in that way, but about  
 the fortieth day dies of a *Marasmus*. A Girl 3 *at.*  
 of a bad habit and looseness of long standing, had as u-  
 sual the Small Pox by Inoculation, but dies the thirty  
 second Day. To conclude our Abstractor's *PROBITY*  
 in the matter, he says, that the *Author* of these *Abridg-*  
*ments* address'd them to those who had the *Originals* in  
 their Hands, and therefore it could not be thought that  
 it was not as faithful a report as could be made of the  
 matter. The truth is, he sent his Abstract to all the no-  
 ted Practitioners in Town, but not to the owner of the  
*Philosophical Transactions*. *Prob. fides!*

Their second Voucher is an Army of half a Dozen or  
 half a Score *Africans*, by others call'd *Negroes*. *Slaves*,  
 who

who tell us now (the never before) that it is practised in their own Country. The more blundering and Negroish they tell their Story, it is the more credible, says C. M; a paradox in Nature; for all they say true or false is after the same manner. There is not a Race of Men on Earth more *False Lysers*, &c. Their Accounts of what was done in their Country was never depended upon till now for Arguments sake. Many Negroes to my knowledge have assured their Masters that they had the Small Pox in their own Country or elsewhere, and have now had it in Boston. Some of Dr. M's *Inoculated* Ar- my have had the same Fate, which might serve as an Argument that the *Inoculated* may have the Small Pox afterwards in the common way; but such weak Arguments our cause does not require. To confirm this you have at length in two of their little Books a silly Story or familiar Interview and Conversation between two *black* (Negroe) *Gentlemen*, and a couple of the *Reverend Promoters*, concerning Inoculation. *O Rare Farce!*

Their third *Allegation* in favour of it is, *If it had been unsuccessful or attended with bad consequences* (since it has been practised many Years in Turkey) *it must needs have been out of countenance and have ceased long ago.* An indifferent Person would more naturally reason thus; If it had not been attended with bad consequences (since it has been known to several Physicians all over Europe for many Years) and being so safe for the time, and of such an unparallel'd usefulness, it must have been practised all the World over long ago, not so many Princes and great Statesmen have died of the Small Pox, and all the Christian world continue so long in an obstinate breach of the sixth Commandment.

The fourth sort of Motives comprehends all the *wild and wild Comparisons* they have made in favour of it; few of them will bear repeating.

The comparison of their *Neighbour's House being on fire*, and the securing their own without delay. They should have added, the saving their own, not by an infallible method, and with the certain consequences of putting

putting the Town in Flames & infection spreading) in all corners; thus the contagion being universal, the few hands which might in a great measure keep the accidental Fire under, or save much Substance, cannot be so servicable in a calamity so universal; besides the greater intenseness of the Fire. This was the true state of the case in September, October, and some part of November last. If my Neighbour's House be on Fire, I must endeavour to stop its Progress, and order Affairs so at home that my damage may be small by removal or otherways; but not let fire to the Shell of my House (*Mr. Coleman's House in the Fire*) that I may get off my Effects by the light of it, tho' endangering the whole Town.

In an *Inundation* a Man will naturally take to the first Plank, &c. that comes in his way: where the danger of being drowned is certain, *ante remedium* any thing may be embraced; but our Case is, Supposing a neighbouring Country is *inundate*, and the Tide with the Storm in Course are likely in a few hours to overflow the Country where I live, and perhaps one in ten perish. I with some others (*PUBLICK SPIRITS*) rather than secure the Banks, or fly up into the inland Country, chuse to put to Sea from a Lee Shore (where there is no looking back *after Inoculation it is too late to repent*) in a Boat or uncertain craft with provisions for some Days or Months, having no certainty how to steer my Course to a Terra-firma (or *present state of Health*;) By this Method, I am sure of surviving a few Days or Months, Dangers of the Seas excepted, (*the Hazard of Inoculation whereof several perish*;) tho' liable to all the Inconveniencies of being at Sea, (*chronical Ails perhaps*;) whereof at length I dye, if in due time I do not get ashore. Or as it relates to Infection, take it as follows. When an *Inundation* threatens us, as before, I with some others, (*ENDEAVOURING THE GOOD OF THE PEOPLE*;) take the first favourable Opportunity (v. g. of a Lull) break down some Part of the Dike, float-off our Vessels, and put to Sea

See for our own Safety : Thus the Waters, instead of coming on gradually, as they would in Course of Nature, do with a sudden Impetuousity lay all under in a short Time.

Their indistinct, confused, superficial Notions of Things, makes their *Physical Comparisons* so wild. They compare the taking of preventing Physick to the Procuring a Contagious Distemper. They do not know how to distinguish between a Disease simply Epidemick, and a *Contagious Epidemical Distemper*; many Methods may be allowed of in the First, which are Dangerous and Destructive in the other. *Preventive Physick* I think, is generally given to prevent Relapses, but not the first onset of Diseases. I never heard of a *Salvation* given to prevent a *Pox*, nor of *Febriculy*s to one who never had the *Head-ache* to secure him from it. If any Patient thought that one in Thirty, or Forty, or an Hundred, died of a *Vomus*, or any other preventive Physick, it could not be expected they would undergo it, especially if the Consequence must certainly be some *dubious Distemper*.

The Comparison of the *Cortex Peru*, or Jesuits Powder, favours this Practice most, being a true Specifick in intermitting Fevers or Agues. We learnt it from the *Spanish Indians* in the Southern Parts of *America*. It was found to prevent totally, or for some considerable time, the return of *agueish Fits*. At its first Entrance into *Europe* not having by Experience ( and to the Cost of the first Tryers ) learnt the dosing and timing of it, and what Constitutions would bear it, instead of the intermitting Fever which it prevented, it left many *chronical* and *fatal* Ails, which did not appear but in Process of time; So that People were very shy of it, and chose rather the *Ague* should take its natural Course, or usual Method of Cure, tho' a few did die of it; than be liable to these *After-claps*, of which in Process of Time many died. I ask our *Conscience Directors*, whether at that time, they who would not use the *Cortex* (for then the salutary use of it was not known) were Breakers of the Sixth Commandment?

mandment? Even at this time, tho' the Use of the *Corsick* has been improved upon by the most polite Nations some Scores of Years, some eminent *Physicians*, and a great many Patients, chuse rather to omit the Use of it, because of its suspected Consequences; are they *Breakers of the Sixth Commandment*?

The Fifth *Motive* to induce People to come into this Method of Inoculation, is the late *Accounts from England*, of its being last Summer practis'd and approv'd of there. The KING ( says one of the Inoculators ) *Princes*, and most eminent *Physicians* in *London* and *Dublin*, have declared their Approbation of it, and it is a *successful Practice* there. This is either a *Dream*, second Sight, or a contriv'd *Story*, for the latest News from thence only tell us that after much Intercession of some *Surgeons* who were in the Humour of making Experiments, and the KING's advising with the learned at Law, the KING did condescend to allow this to be tryed on a few *condemned Criminals*. Some *News-Writers*, according to Custom, without any good Authority, say it was likely to get into *private Family's*, but mention no Particulars, and consequently wants Confirmation; what the partial Accounts of the Success of this Practice in *Boston* sent home, may do in the influencing some to give into it, I shall not foretell. From this we may learn, that in *England* they did not venture on it without Permission of the Government; our Inoculating Parsons do it in Spite of the Government, or *Select Men* of the Town.

Their Sixth *Allegation* in favour of it is, *Altho' procuring Illness to a Man's own Person without any further View, be certainly a Sin; yet if it be to prevent a greater, ( tho' uncertain ) it becomes a Duty*. From this Principle, the greatest *Abominations* are allowable. v. g. The curing or preventing a *Chlorosis*, ( whereof many die ) where in some Cases the best Authors advise *Matrimony*; and *Matrimony* cannot be conveniently obtain'd. I have heard some *Rakes* say, that a *Gonorrhoea* well managed, has made them more healthy than before, and prevented the Return of some periodical Ails; with several other  
such

such *vile Cases* ( which I blush to mention ) deducible from the same Principle which is made here *convertible* with the Sixth Commandment, *Thou shalt not kill.*

Their Seventh *Reason*, ( which is the only Argument they ought to use and rely on, ) is its *Success*. I need not tell them that there is *successful Wickedness* for a time; or as *John Williams* says, *GOD permitted Pharaoh's Magicians, to imitate his own Judgments, even to the hardening of the People's Hearts.*

Their History of its Success is shortly this. At first they gave out, *That it was a Method not infecting, procuring only a small quantity of Eruptions, but never Death, nor any bad consequence, and was an infallible Security against ever after having the Small Pox.* This was attested *ex verbo Sacerdotum*; and who would not have comply'd with it, if *Prudence* and *Reason* founded partly on the *Testimony* of some who had been in the *Levant*, had not been stronger than our *Faith* in these Parsons *gratis dictum*; and in process of Time our own *Experience* concurr'd with these Testimonies: We soon found it *infecting*; many have dy'd of the Infection received from the Inoculated, whose *Deaths* in a great measure lies at the *Inoculators Doors*. Then the Parsons gave up this Point, but continued to maintain the rest, till they found some of the Inoculated with *immense Number of Pustules*. This they attribute to the difference of Climate; and *being but Learners, we hope in a little Time to be more Expert* (says Dr. M.) *but none ever dy'd of it these forty Years,* ( vide *Some Account* P. 10. &c. ) then *dyes* the Inoculated Mrs. D——l, ( besides several others who dye in the crowd when the *Distemper* was universal and at the height; for they acknowledge ( P. 11. of some Account ) that many more were inoculated than they judged proper to mention, because of the clamour of the People: ( some of the Inoculators said she receiv'd the Infection in the common Way, tho' the most cautious of Women, and every thing wrought as is usual in Inoculation; Others of them say she dy'd of *Hysterick Fits*, not considering that *Hysterick Fits* are no mortal Distemper; and it befalls

not

not so much their *Ignorance* as their **WICKEDNESS**, thus to impose on the World ; for they certainly must know that most Persons *agonizing*, have *Convulsions* and *Tremors*, call'd the *Agonies* or *Pangs* of *Death*. Their **DARING PRACTICE** on Women with Child who miscarry'd while under *Inoculation*, they do not mention, as if procuring *Abortion* were a very innocent Practice ; I forbear the Names of some who are instances of this *Wickedness*. Now at length the *Distemper* in its natural Course abating, several who dye under *Inoculation*, can no longer be concealed ; Some of them now say the *Winter Season* will not do, tho' it be the only Season prescrib'd by their *Authors* ; And in the name of others, one of the *Inoculators*, a young *Conscience keeper*, says, *I am not at all shy to say, that some may miscarry under it, because God keeps us in a dependance on himself in the use of means ; and if a man dyes under Inoculation he dyes in the use of means.* O **IMPIETY** ! If a Man may make free with his own Body Natural, because in *Conscience* he thinks he ought to do so, this not only countenances the old *Roman Doctrine* of *Felo de se*, but is also a considerable Step towards the making free with the Body Politick. v. g. He foresees something like to be amiss in the *State*, which in *Conscience* he is obliged to prevent by a *lesser Illness* or *Commotion* ; as has happened in several Places in *Europe* in former times by the *Instigation* of some who call themselves *Religious*. As for the *Consequences*, Time must clear up ; some we know, whole *Inoculation Schemes* have been for a long Time, and still continue *troublesome*.

: What has been said in favour of it by way of *Contrast*, &c. does not deserve mentioning ; as the calling of it a *distinguishing Mark* of the Good from the Ungodly, the *Saints* from the Wicked ; their throwing the *Odium* of *Party* on the *Anti-Inoculators* : They who continue in an even steady Course, as before, are said to form a *Party* ; not they who are active, and endeavour to introduce new and dubious *Practices* and *Customs*. O **BRASS** ! If it be a *Party Business*, it is of their own making ; for we may

may generally observe, the Inoculated are generally the *Devotees* of some *Inoculating Person*: At first it was *Congregational*, being almost confined to Mr. *W*'s Hearers; then it spread among the *Devotees* of Dr. *M*. and Mr. *C*.; and lately many being buzz'd in the Ear with the great *Losses* sustain'd in the Natural Way, have as it were in *Despair* come into it.

III. Reasons against the Use of Inoculation at present, and until further Light.

My humble Opinion of *Inoculation* is as of all bold Experiments of Consequence in the *Practice of Physick*, That whatever the Success or Consequences may be, (and the more Tryals the more Light) they may be of a public Advantage, tho' at the *Risque* of the first Patients. If it answer, after Generations will reap the Benefit of it; if otherways, the miserable Sufferers will be recorded as bold, rash, infatuated *Fools*, the Practice for ever after abhor'd, and the Promoters thereof stigmatized as *Murderers*.

All solid and sound *Philosophy*, that is *Natural History*, is founded on *Observations* made, and *Experiments* taken of the various Actions and Influences of *Natural Bodies* on one another. I was always fond of this kind of Knowledge, especially as it related to *Humane Bodies* in a *Healthy* or *Morbid* State; and if these two dear Characters of a Good *Citizen* and Good *Christian* could be dispensed with, I should have been pleased to see some Thousands inoculated with several other Distempers as well as the *Small Pox*; but for the following *Reasons* I could not as present comply with this novel, rash, and dubious Practice.

1. *Poysoning and spreading infection, are by the penal Laws of England Felony*. Inoculation falls in with the first without any Contradiction, and if a Person of so weak a *Constitution*, that any the least Illness may prove fatal to him, should be inoculated, and suffer but the tenth Part of what several of the *Inoculated* have done, he must unavoidably perish, and his *Inoculator* deem'd guilty



guilty of wilful *Poysoning*. This is the Reason I suppose, why the Practitioners of *Boston* thought themselves not *safe* to venture on a Thing of such Consequence. Supposing only One in a Thousand should die of this Method, it cannot with Safety to the *Inoculator* be practis'd, without an Act of Parliament, exempting *Inoculation* by a sworn Practitioner from the Penalties of *poysoning* and *spreading Infection*. I think *B——n's* Friends should advise him to take his *Trial*, while so many judicious *Magistrates* and *Ministers* are in the Humour of *Inoculation*, lest any time hereafter, during his Natural Life, he be brought on his *Trial* either on the *KING's* Account, or by the Relations.

2. *The Personal Testimonies of several Gentlemen who have been in the Levant* ( whereof some have been published in the Weekly News Letters ) importing, that some *Inoculated* have dy'd under it ( as we have lately seen several amongst ourselves ) others have thereafter been miserable by its dismal Effects and Consequences ; and some have had the Small Pox in the natural Way notwithstanding. But their Testimonies says Dr. M. are not worth a *Straw* ; tho' in Case of any felonious Action against himself, they would be worth his Neck in any Court of Justice.

3. It seems agreeable to Reason, and the Experience we have of Distempers received by Contact, That by *Inoculation*, not only the Small Pox, but many other chronical Distempers ( hereditary or acquired ) of the person from whom the pocky Matter is received, are communicated to the person inoculated ; for all Constitution Distempers have some Tincture or Idea in every Drop of our Juices. The acute Distemper as such, from its Nature soon shows it self ; but the chronical Aills, according to their Nature, act slowly and imperceptibly on our Bodys, and require some Time before they become manifest. All the Town knows, how little nice the *Inoculator* has been in procuring good wholesome Juice ; not having many Patients in the common Way, he was frequently obliged to have recourse to the Pus of the inoculated ; thus complicating

soliciting the Constitution Distempers of Two or more Persons to be ingrafted on his Patients. I shall not enquire, what becomes of the first Faculency of several who have been inoculated more than once.

As in all Contagious Distempers, so in this the *Fumes* or *Levain* of the *Disease*, is something very fine and *Subtile*; What then becomes of the other *gross faculency* part of this foreign *Pus* or Corruption ingrafted? In Reason one would be apt to think, that it may prove the *Ferment* or first *Speck* of some *chronical putrid Ail*, the case being much different from that of the *Pus* of *Impostumations* and *Ulcers proper*, not malignant but accidental, which by daily experience we know may safely be received back into the same *Mass* of *Blood* from whence it did proceed, and afterwards thrown off by some *Emunctory*.

Some of their *Incisions* ( even in those who can scarce be said to have had the *Small Pox*, the number of the *Pustules* or *Eruptions* were so few and without *Pus* ) run *profusely*, one, two, three or more Months after they go abroad; not in the manner of *Suppuration*, *Digestion* or wasting of the Substance in the Part; but by way of *Discharge*, *Evacuation*, or *Artificial Secretion* from the habit of the *Body*, and that without the Interposition of any extraneous Body, as *Lint*, *Tent*, or *Pea*, to keep the Lips of the *Incision* from agglutinating, as in common *Issues* is absolutely requisite, but merely by the *Viciousness* or *Malignity* of the Humour discharg'd, these *Inoculated Issues* are continued. Suppose by any *Intemperies* of Body ( which the most healthy are liable to from the change of Weather, Diet, or other Accidents ) the Juices are put into a hurry; this *vicious Secretion* ( as much as all other natural Secretions ) is disturb'd for a Time, and the *Malignant* Humour either retain'd in the Blood, to the spoiling of the Habit; or in *Valtinary* Subjects ( as do all other *Fluxions* ) takes its course to some weak Part, v. g. to the *Lungs* of those whose Lungs are tender, to the *Kidneys* of the Gravelly or Diabetical, to the *Head* of those afflicted with Distempers

parts of the Head, &c. and consequently by its Malignity, produce in these weak Parts either *infectious Wappings* or in due Time *Exulcerations*. This seems to account for the *Subsequent Ails* of the *Inoculated* publicly declared by some *Gentlemen* as above. As in some the *Veneral Lues* does not discover itself till after some Months or Years, so it may be with this *LUES*, till am apt to think, that if this Practice be ever approved of, it may be advisable, to convert these Incisions into the Form of common Issues, to continue for some considerable Time. *N. B.* The Sores remaining after the worst Sort of natural Small Pox, heal as kindly as any other accidental Sore or Exulceration not malignant.

Moreover, whatever Ails and Diseases, especially *chronical*, the *Inoculated* in the after Course of their Life may be subject to; many of their Neighbours, and perhaps some of themselves, will be apt to lay the *Blame* on their former *Inoculation*; and so live in continual Anxiety and Disquietude of Mind, being for ever rendered incapable of enjoying that Perfection of Happiness in this Life, *Mens sana in corpore sano*. This I say may be the Case of some.

4. *The rash and mischievous Methods used in propagating this practice.* Instead of contriving Methods to secure the *Inoculated* from taking the Infection the common Way, and their Neighbours from being infected by them, they inoculate indifferently in all Corners, and set the Town all in a Flame in one Moment as it were; many *perish* who had the Infection from the *Inoculated*, whose Deaths perhaps *in foro divino* they may be found guilty of. Their Authors *Timonius* and *Pylarinus* tell them, The Person who collects the Matter, ought not to apply it, least a *double Infection* ensue; and that the Advantage of this Practice is, that a *suitable Season* and a *well prepared Body* may be had to rencounter the Infection; but these things, as trivial, they neglect, and run headlong as if push'd on by some *Fury*.

How conscientiously do they tell us, that tho' it spread Infection, there may be Methods easily taken to prevent  
its

the harassing others that do not yet come into it, at the same Time before these Methods are taken or in the least endeavoured after, they lay all down they can *proselyte*. They do all they can to persuade the *Country Towns* to come into it, tho' they generally have escaped in former *Small Pox Times*, and the Winter coming on with the hard continued *Frosts* may stop its Progress. Suppose they compass their *WICKED DESIRES*, and *One in Ten*, which is more than can be expected to give into it (not above one in Fifty in *Boston* have been inoculated) in different Corners of the Town (for in their *Scribbles* they lay down no Method of separating those from others) are inoculated, in a short time those infect all the Town, so as to have it the *natural Way*; without any Spirit of Prophecy by what we have seen of *Small Pox Patients* in the *Country Towns* one Third, perhaps one Half of the People will perish to the *depopulating of His Majesty's good Province*. The Reasons *Authority* may have to connive at this, I do not pretend to meddle with; but desire to be thankful to GOD, who in his wise Providence, seems to put a Stop to their Career, by the late *Deaths* of several Inoculated.

For *Six Months* past the Infection in *Town* has much kept off the *Country* from supplying us: The Town is now almost clear, and in a few *Weeks* those who fled might have return'd in Safety; but by the Inoculators *Machinations*, Inoculation or *Infection* is continued, and we are kept in *Statu quo*: Nay further, to add to our Calamities, *Roxbury* the Thorough Fare to *Boston*, which hitherto had escaped, is now under Inoculation, and the *Town's Supply* more hindred than before.

One of the *Mischiefs* attending this Practice, is, *Family Divisions and Harts*. When GOD is pleased to take to himself some *Relation, Servant or Slave* in the natural Way, e. g. a Child; the Wife with Bitterness reflects on the Husbaad, telling him, Parson — says, *Inoculation* would have sav'd our dear Child. And how many afflict themselves, since wrought upon by the *Inoculating Ministers*, because of the *Deaths* of their near Relations? The late *inoculated Deaths* make these People more easy in their Minds. If Contentions arise  
say

say they in their Cases of Conscience, ( p. 9. ) is no matter to them, because it was so in our Saviour's time, *Mat. 10. 35. For I am come to set a Man at Variance against his Father, and the Daughter against her Mother, &c.* Thus they excuse their spreading Contention. *O vile abuse of the Scriptures!*

IV. A few Remarks on the Practice, and the manner of promoting it.

In a little *vain Book*, call'd *Some Observations, &c.* the Author says, *The Incisions moderate the first Fever* ( or Fever preceding the Eruption ) tho' in most the Incisions or Issues do not run till the Pock appear, and then but inconsiderably; and they themselves during this Fever use *Blisters* more than we do in the common Way: *And prevents the second Fever at the Turning*; not considering that they whose Eruptions are few and favourable either way, can have no putrid Fever; those who are fuller have this putrid or second Fever from a return of some of the Pocky Matter into the Blood; it must then first return into the Blood, before it can come to vent it self at those Issues; so that at most it may moderate, but not prevent this second Fever; we find *Pesciarys* or *Blisters* answer the Intention better, by reason of the *Stimulus*, inclining the noxious Humours to the Places of Vert.

The same *Inoculator* in another Place says, certainly the *Issues* ( Incisions ) *smell*, more or less, according to the Degree of the Distemper, and in the confluent Kind *this Discharge is more noisome*, like the running of the fluxy Kind, which he all along represents as the most putrid corrupted thing imaginable. A little before this he says, *When the Patient is fullest under the Inoculation, I affirm I could never smell their issues*, no not when I have stand'd over their Beds on purpose to do it. His *Lucubrations* or Night Labours in favour of Inoculation occasion'd his great Cold, or we must put a worse Construction on such Contradictions asserted almost with the same Breath.

It is commonly said, that the *Inoculated smell stronger* than those in the natural Way and same degree; this I do not insist upon, tho' the *additional stench* of their running Sores or Incisions and *putrify'd Cabbage Leaf*, one would think, should be the Senses more.

To say, we understand no more of the Small Pox now than we did Forty Three Years ago, is a saucy Imputation on the many noble and useful Improvements in Physick since that time. Have Dr Sydenham, Morton, and other late Ingenious *practical Writers* on the Small Pox, whose Writings we daily peruse, done nothing to the Satisfaction of this learned and pious Gentleman? His many *physical Plunders* are forgiven, because he matters not if he has betray'd his Ignorance therein; he writes with another Design, viz. *Per jus et nefos*, at any Rate to persuade to Inoculation.

In the beginning of the Small Pox, they pray God may put a stop to its spreading, and at the same time do all they can to propagate it by Inoculation, which is equally infectious as in the natural Way; some say more contagious, because after the Eruptions are dry'd up, the inoculated walk about with their Issues running a kind of *variolus Matter*. ( N. B. If any of them are found in mixt Assemblies or in Country Towns, while in this Condition, the Law of Nature and Self Preservation seems to require the Discipline for mad Dogs. ) In one part of Prayer to thank God for the Discovery, and a little after to pray conditionally, that if it be not of God he may put a stop to it; with many other such Expressions in their Prayers, which in my humble Opinion, seem to be a *mocking of God*, and an *Abuse on their Hearers*, whereof the greatest Part are against procuring of Self-Ilness. What shall a Man do in such Cases? go to worship where he cannot join in Prayer with the Minister? This has been a stumbling Block to some, and is much to the discredit of *extemporary Prayers*, where all is left to the *Parson's Discretion*.

If the Inoculators had designed a publick Good, why did they run headlong unto it, without observing the *Circumstances and Cautions* which might have made it useful; to begin in the Heart of the Town, where was no Infection; to inoculate all *Ages and Constitutions* from the very Beginning, without being first assur'd of it's Success on the *Young and Healthy*. Why did they not *petition the Government*, that none should be inoculated till his Name was recorded, that for the publick Good *in times to come*, it might be known who dy'd, and what *state of Health* they afterwards enjoy'd who surviv'd; as also have contriv'd some Method, that none might take the Infection from the *Inoculated*: This Neglect has occasioned the Death of many.

I am sorry the World cannot reap that Benefit from this rash and bold Experiment that might have been expected: *The chief Promoter*, who sends Accounts Home not always to be depended upon, is *credulous and whimsical*; the *Operator* is *rash and unthinking*: Who knows but they who have dyed or suffered much under Inoculation, if they had had better Management, might have had better Fate.

We have learnt from our 5 or 6 Mo. Experience of Inoculation,  
1. That

1. *That the Small Pox may sometimes be communicated by Inoculation.* I cannot say always, because some have been inoculated there than once before it wrought, and many have from thence had only a sort of *empiric Fever*, but no genuine Small Pox, so far as I am able to judge. 2. *That the Small Pox so acquired, is frequently more favourable than in the common way of Infection, and not altogether so mortal:* What the dismal Consequences may be, I shall not pretend to determine; but Reason and the Testimonies of some Gentlemen from the *Levants*, give us ground to suspect. 3. *That not one of the inoculated during the space of five or six Months has had the Small Pox in the natural way, so far as we know;* for the inoculants in every thing that makes against them, by *LYES* and *EQUIVOCATIONS* endeavour to keep us in the dark. It is then a palliative Prevention of the Small Pox for some time, and not very mortal; and consequently may be of great Use to the *Guinea Traders*, when the Small Pox gets among their Slaves aboard to inoculate the whole Cargo, and patch them up for a *Market*; as is already the Practice with them in the other Pox or *Tows*, by some *negro*, palliative Cure to fit them up for a quick Market, tho' to the great Damage of the next Purchasers.

If the *Dismal Consequences* do not discourage us, by a *violent* Determination of the *Inoculated* and their *Progeny*; who knows but this may be so improved upon, as to become a *Specifick Preventive* of the *Small Pox*, but it must first be allowed of by *ALL* of the *Lords* (the spreading of infection I am afraid will notwithstanding reach its end) & promoted by other hands than *Greek and Women, Madmen and Fools*. And further, supposing the Consequences be such as our *Declarants* say, we may proceed to try; if a *Salivation* or *Antimonial*, or *Sulphurine* Course, &c. may not totally carry off the remnant *Feculency*: That is, Whether *Inoculation*, with a subsequent *Salivation*, &c. may not be an adequate *Succedaneum* to the genuine *Small Pox*.

As a Caution to a certain Gentleman, (who you know in times past has been troublesome to the R. S. with his trivial *scandalous Stories*) lest by his Communications home, he may do harm on our Mother Country, he is to be advertised, That a true and faithful Account of this Experiment, so far as can be learnt, shall in due Time be sent home, well vouched & signed by some, whose proper Business is to make such Observations.

I impatiently wait for some further Account of the Progress in London, their Cautions and Rules in the Procedure, I hope may be of Use to us. For my own Part still after a few Years, I shall pass no positive Judgment of this bold Practice. I am,

R. England, Bolton, Dec. 20. 1721. S. R. ; Yours, &c.

P. S. If I have been too rough with any Persons Character, & it afterwards appear that he acted in more Zeal (tho' mistaken Zeal) for the Good of his Neighbours, I heartily ask his Pardon.

Errata: For *Parson's* Baster; for *common* say I, *Natural* say.

















































































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